Workers of the World, Unite !

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Millions Demand Wage Raises to Meet Price Rises

By Art Preis

War-inflated prices plus fears of a government-imposed wage freeze have spurred wage demands by unions representing several million workers.

Under pressure of a wave of strikes that conservative union leaders have been unable to restrain, major corporations in the auto, electrical and other important industries have already been forced to grant wage concessions.

In addition to increased basic wage rates, the most significant aspect of recent settlements, particularly in auto, is the widespread inclusion of cost-of-living escalator clauses in contracts. These provide for periodic automatic wage increases scaled to rises in the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistic's cost-of-living index.

The agreements reached last week by the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers with General Electric and the CIO United Auto Workers with Bendix Aviation both provide for forms of the sliding scale of wages or escalator clause.

The IUE-CIO agreement with GE calls for an average general wage increase of 10 cents an hour, including 5 cents granted on July 1, and an automatic rise on March 15, 1951, of one cent for every 1.14 point advance in the government's living cost index over the present figure. There can be no reduction below the basic wage rate if the index declines. The contract runs for a year.

At the same time as the IUE settled for 60,000 workers in 60 GE plants, the rival independent United Electrical Workers, representing about 46,000 workers in 45 GE plants, made a similar agreement. However, in line with the Stalinist policy of opposing escalator clauses, the UE leaders accepted a two-year contract with three semi-annual wage reopeners.

IUE AND UE CONTRACTS

The IUE and UE contracts both have jokers which the leaders accepted in order to end the strike as quickly as possible and to get the wage concessions. They include pension agreements which provide for contributions by the workers as well as the company. The IUE hospitalization plan is to be paid for entirely by the workers.

The IUE escalator clause is inferior to those adopted in the auto industry. If prices rise very rapidly in the next period, the GE workers will have to wait six months before their wages are adjusted, instead of three months as in auto. Under the UE contract, however, the workers may get no raises at the end of even six months, unless they are prepared to strike again.

In line with settlements reached at Chrysler, Ford, Kaiser-Frazer and other UAW-organized companies, the Bendix Aviation Corporation, after a spreading series of strikes, granted its 13,000 workers a five-cent wage rate increase and an escalator clause which is adjustable every three months. The workers are tied, however, by a five-year contract.

The wage movement has gained

(Continued on page 2)

No Difficulty in Getting Signatures For Grace Carlson

By Chester K. Johnson
Campaign Manager

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 17 — **Grace Carlson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 5th District Representative in Congress, is assured of a place on the ballot in Minnesota.**

After only five days' work circulating petitions to place the SWP in the election race, 600 signatures, or 100 more than the 500 required, have been obtained. Campaign workers, however, are so enthusiastic about the response to putting a Trotskyist on the ballot that they plan to get an additional 200 signatures.

Many of the signers have expressed enthusiasm over the entrance of the Socialist Workers Party in the congressional race here. "We've had enough of the Republicans and Democrats — they don't do anything for the workers," one trade unionist said. "It's about time to give Socialism a chance."

"LIKE DEBS"

Campaign workers have also found that many persons recall the election campaign of Eugene V. Debs and the fact that he served time in prison for his socialist views during the first World War, as Grace Carlson did during World War II. "I'll sign for your candidate — she's a real Socialist like Debs," one worker said and passed the petition board among his friends, urging them to sign.

Following the announcement of Grace Carlson's candidacy last Sunday, a number of persons have called and visited party headquarters, expressing interest in her anti-war position and socialist program for the U. S.

DAN ROBERTS NAMED FOR CONGRESS RACE IN WASH.

By Marianne Stanley
Campaign Manager

SEATTLE, Sept. 17 — At a nominating convention held here last Tuesday, the Washington State District of the Socialist Workers Party nominated Daniel Roberts for the office of U. S. Representative from the First Washington District.

DANIEL ROBERTS

Roberts, a 32-year old produce worker, has been Washington District organizer for the past seven years. He is a seasoned political campaigner, having run on the SWP ticket for Governor in 1948 and for the State Legislature in 1946.

The convention was well attended by an enthusiastic gathering of members and friends, who pledged $285 for a campaign fund. More than the necessary number of registered voters' signatures was obtained on the certificate of nomination required by the law to place a minority party on the ballot in Washington.

Daniel Roberts is opposed by Mrs. F. F. Powell, Republican, member of the stagnant Seattle City Council for years. Incumbent Hugh Mitchell, the darling of the ADA, who likes to pose as a great liberal, is the Democratic Party candidate. The Stalinists are running Paul Bowen, a Negro.

This campaign will afford Roberts an excellent opportunity to expose not only Mitchell's phony "welfare statism," but also the policies of the Communist Party. When Secretary of State Coe threatened to attempt to rule the CP off the ballot, the Stalinists chose the ballot name of "Independent Voters Party" and a correspondingly innocuous program.

Election plans call for the maximum number of personal appearances by the candidate before union meetings, Negro gatherings, and forums of politically interested students on the University of Washington campus. A campaign document containing the party program will be distributed at plant gates and elsewhere. In addition, radio broadcasts will be made over the local networks.

In his acceptance speech, candidate Roberts outlined the platform on which he is running. "We are opposed to Truman's war in Korea and favor the immediate withdrawal of troops from Korea," he said. Emphasizing the SWP's opposition to the growing drive to establish an American police dictatorship, he stated. "We are for freedom of speech for everyone, including the Stalinists, although they are our bitterest enemies. We are campaigning for a Workers and Farmers Government," he concluded, "instead of a government dominated by Big Business such as we have today."

Sweet Land of Liberty

New Coast Guard Demand Rejected By AFL Seamen

Officials of the AFL maritime unions are now frightened by the consequences of the current Coast Guard purge to which they themselves had agreed at the Washington conference last July.

The AFL union leaders had hoped that the purge would be directed solely against their militant opponents within the unions. But they are discovering now that the government has far more sweeping aims: the destruction of independent unionism in the maritime industry, which the Coast Guard is promoting by its demand that all seamen "voluntarily" give up their present certificates for new ones issued by the Coast Guard.

Harry Lundeberg, president of the AFL Seafarers International Union, sent a telegram to the Coast Guard denouncing the introduction of these "specially validated" papers as "very suspicious," and declaring that the union refused to comply. Special SIU & SUP meetings have been held "up and down all coasts" and have voted unanimously not to sign "applications for new seamen's certificates," reports the Sept. 15 **Seafarers Log.**

CAUSE FOR SUSPICION

The **Log** explains: "The suspicious nature of the Coast Guard scheme was further evidenced by a contradiction contained in its memorandum on the issuance of the new seamen's papers. Although applications were to be made on a purely voluntary basis, the CG memorandum concluded with this statement: 'It may be expected that after a reasonable time only those persons holding specially validated documents will be eligible for employment on merchant vessels'."

Meanwhile the victimization of seamen continues to go on. In a front page editorial attacking the "super-supers," the Log cites the case of "two Seafarers recently barred from ships" by the Coast Guard without any explanation. The demand for an appeal hearing "was met with the notification that the Appeal Board is as yet non-existent."

Despite their protests and alarm, however, the SIU leaders are still facilitating the government's union-busting campaign by conceding the Coast Guard's right to purge so-called "subversive" workers.

McCARRAN-KILGORE BILL SENT TO WHITE HOUSE

SEPT. 21 — By the time you read this, the Bill of Rights may be dead and the United States of America a police state.

The House and Senate yesterday whipped through the McCarran-Kilgore omnibus "anti-subversives" bill, after a joint committee of both houses had speedily put the final touches on the combined McCarran registration and Kilgore concentration-camp bills passed by the Senate on Sept. 12.

The vote was 312 to 20 in the House and 51 to 7 in the Senate. Although Truman himself had criticized the original McCarran bill, only 18 Democrats in the House and 6 in the Senate voted against the even more drastic and brutal final bill.

It now awaits Truman's signature or veto. He can veto it with the assurance that its supporters, including most of the Trumanite "Fair Dealers," are strong enough to override his veto and enact the bill into law.

It was the "Fair Dealers" who introduced the Kilgore "preventive detention" bill as a "substitute" for the McCarran bill, which they called "dangerous, burdensome and repressive." Truman called this Nazi-like "detention" bill an improvement over McCarran's. Most of the "Fair Dealers" ended up by voting to add the Kilgore bill to the McCarran bill and then voted for the combined police-state measure.

TRULY "CATCH-ALL"

The 68-page bill passed by Congress contains all the most repressive features of all the "anti-subversive" measures introduced into Congress during the past several years. These include Truman's own "espionage and sabotage" bill, as well as the Mundt-Nixon, Wood, Hobbs and Kilgore bills.

It defines the "Communist movement," "Communist action" and "Communist front" organizations as criminal and requires the registration of all such organizations, as well as all members of "Communist action" groups.

Failure to register when ordered to do so by a hand-picked board makes violators liable to 10 years in prison and $10,000 fine for each day of violation.

CRIME TO TAKE JOB

The bill makes it a crime for a member of a "Communist action" organization to take a job in a "defense plant," which includes not only plants engaged in war production, but all transportation, communications, utilities and scientific research facilities. Those belonging to "fronts" must reveal their membership before taking a job. A "front" is determined by "the extent to which its views and policies do not deviate from those" of a "Communist action" organization.

It is a felony, under the bill, to "conspire" to "perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment in the U. S. of a totalitarian dictatorship." The police-staters could call anything — a speech, an article, a strike — "conspiracy" to "perform an act substantially contributing" to "totalitarian dictatorship."

The "preventive detention" part of the bill authorizes the Attorney General, in time of war, invasion or insurrection "in aid of a foreign enemy," to detain indefinitely and without jury trial persons "who there is reasonable ground to believe probably will commit or conspire to commit espionage or sabotage." A detainee's only appeal is to a "detention review board."

We Accuse Congress of High Crimes

Police-State Bill is Conspiracy To Subvert Bill of Rights and Destroy Civil Liberties

By The Editors

We accuse Congress of high crimes against the American people.

Every member of Congress who voted for any form of the McCarran-Kilgore-Wood-Mundt-Nixon registration and concentration-camp bill is guilty of conspiracy to subvert and destroy the Bill of Rights in the Constitution.

These members of Congress should be indicted, tried, convicted, punished and banished from public life.

They have violated their oaths to uphold the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Their speeches and votes are overt acts in furtherance of their conspiracy to abolish free speech, press and assembly, to deny trial by jury, the right of habeas corpus and punishment only for crimes committed.

Their attempt to impose concentration-camp, police-state rule on America is a "clear and present danger" to government founded on democratic liberties. They have passed a bill, patterned after the decrees of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Hirohito and Stalin, that would make it a crime to think "dangerous thoughts." They would arrest and hold in Nazi-like "preventive detention," without jury trial, anyone who "might" hold such thoughts.

Who are the most frenzied supporters of this police-state bill?

They are the open labor-haters who passed the Taft-Hartley Law; the lynchers and white-supremacists who howled down FEPC; the McCarrans who publicly embrace bloody dictator Franco; the Rankins who use Congress as a forum for their filthy spewings against Jews and Negro; the monopoly corporations, war profiteers and price-gougers, their prostitute press and hired hands of every degree.

Labor exploiters, lynchers, bribe-givers and bribe-takers, grafters, professional militarists yearning for war, advancement and glory — all the corrupt, brutal, gangrenous elements in our society — have seized on the occasion of the Korean war to push through their long-cherished schemes to crush all their opponents and critics.

What Reactionaries Want

Do not think for a minute that they are gunning merely for the demoralized, discredited Communist Party, or "spies and saboteurs." They have far bigger game in mind. Their prey is the American people— especially the working class.

This is D-Day in their long-prepared offensive to smash labor and minority rights in America. Their bills to wipe out free thought, to imprison without trial, are aimed at those who fight for higher wages and resist the speed-up; who demand racial equality; who refuse to show enthusiasm for intervention in Korea and even less for the atomic world war to come; who threaten, through their pressure for independent labor political action, the political monopoly of the capitalist class and its parties.

The Attorney General, who should be working to put these criminal subverters of the people's rights behind bars, is a party to their crime. He is an appointee of the Truman administration which is part of the bi-partisan conspiracy to bury the Bill of Rights. All the capitalist politicans, courts and administrators of the law, as agents of the ruling plutocracy, are in the criminal gang.

Only the people themselves can halt these scoundrels. The people — especially the labor movement on whose militancy and initiative the nation's fate depends — must refuse to be gagged and intimidated. They must reject the police club as the national emblem.

American People Must Act

In the democratic tradition that Congress defiles, they must demand the veto of the McCarran-Kilgore bill and, if enacted, its immediate repeal. They must voice this demand so powerfully that the would-be American Hitlers will halt and draw back in fear.

But whatever happens to the bill, the police state will menace the American people until all the politicians who supported this bill — the two capitalist parties as a whole — are driven off the political map. That means political action.

But not the kind practiced by the labor and liberal leaders. Not by replacing a Republican with a Democrat, or vice versa. That is the kind of politics that led to the fiasco of the labor leaders' campaign against another repressive law, the Taft-Hartley Act.

The lesson of the two worst Congresses in American history — the Democratic 81st and the Republican 80th — is that capitalist politics of any variety leads to the police state.

What is needed is a new party, a labor party, based on the unions and enlisting the Negro people, the working farmers, the youth and all other targets of capitalist regimentation and exploitation.

A national labor party ticket cannot be put into the field in time for this election. But the groundwork for its organization and success in the next campaign can be laid right now.

By rejecting every form of capitalist politics at the polls, the labor rank and file can help to make their union leaders — the chief opponents of a labor party — understand that if they do not support an independent labor party they face repudiation by the union ranks.

The one positive way to demonstrate rejection of capitalist politics is to pile up a big vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, firmest fighter against the witch-hunt, most consistent advocate of a labor party and staunchest proponent of a Workers and Farmers Government. A large vote for the SWP will be viewed as a protest against thought-control and concentration camps and for independent labor political action that will lead to a Workers and Farmers Government as the sole alternative to a capitalist police state.

Give Yugoslavs Food They Need

By Joseph Hansen
SWP Candidate for
U. S. Senator from N. Y.

The revolution of the Yugoslav people against capitalism is in danger. A summer drought has destroyed about 40% of the corn crop alone. Wheat and other grains have likewise suffered severely. Farmers, short of fodder, are forced to slaughter cattle.

To get through the winter without famine, Yugoslavia needs at least 1,000,000 tons of corn, 500,000 tons of wheat and 500,000 tons of other vital foodstuffs.

Ordinarily Yugoslavia exports a big part of her harvests, paying for purchases abroad with this surplus. Because of the strain to get essential machinery and other supplies, Yugoslavia has been unable to build up a reserve of food stocks. Thus the winter perspective is grim.

The Yugoslav people not only face hunger; their entire heroic effort to heal the wounds left by war and the Nazi occupation is threatened. They may have to hold up orders for industrial equipment already placed, thus further endangering the plans for their economy which were already dislocated by the Kremlin's boycott. Even this desperate measure will not be sufficient to guarantee food.

STALIN'S AIM

The Soviet Union could easily supply the needed grains. But dictator Stalin has declared war to the knife on the Tito regime because it dared to resist his attempt to impose a puppet government on Yugoslavia. Now the Kremlin expects hunger to bring the Yugoslav people to their knees or to force Tito into the camp of American imperialism, thus confirming the Stalinist contention that the peoples of the world have no choice but Moscow or Washington.

The Truman administration on the other hand is calculating in bandit fashion on what it can get out of the crop failure. It is still holding up the loan of $25,000,000 which Yugoslavia applied for long ago from the World Bank. The Bank is trying to force the Tito regime to assume the pre-war debts of the bankrupt monarchy which was overthrown.

In addition Washington wants far-reaching political concessions. That is why the loan application gathers dust in a pigeon hole. They were willing to pour billions of dollars into the rat-hole of dictator Chiang Kai-shek's repudiated regime. But for a popular regime that tries to steer an independent course, Truman's rule is, tighten the screws!

At official rates, the foodstuffs needed to tide Yugoslavia over the winter will cost about $120,000,000. This is a relatively small amount and it would be wholly in the generous spirit of the American people to grant the food with no talk of payment.

Even then the actual cost would come nowhere near $120,000,000. The government can take it out of the vast surpluses which have been artifically removed from the market to keep up prices. These surpluses, as is well known, are so great they have overflowed storage capacities and much of it cannot be kept without serious deterioration.

However, the Yugoslav government is not asking for a handout. It is willing to pay for the food, assuming the debt as a government obligation.

But the cold blood of the Wall Street banking system flows in the veins of the Truman administration. If they turn over any food at all on any terms to Yugoslavia it will only be to keep Tito out of Moscow's orbit. And if they can wring additional profit and advantage from Yugoslavia's misery they aim to squeeze everything possible out of the opportunity.

Let's end this cruel way of responding to human needs and human suffering. Grant Yugoslavia the loans she needs. Start loading ships now with the food that can save these heroic people from starvation!

How the Senate Voted on Police State Measures

By John F. Petrone

When the U.S. Senate convened on Sept. 12 to vote on the McCarran and Kilgore police state bills, it had completed a discussion in which the McCarran supporters (Republicans and a majority of the Democrats) and the Kilgore supporters (the "Fair Deal" Democrats) had denounced each other all over the place during an entire week for attempting to violate constitutional guarantees and to impose thought control on the American people.

But it took only a few minutes for both sides to get together, see the "virtues" of each others' repressive legislation, combine them and pass the McCarran-Kilgore bill by the thumping majority of 70 to 7.

So when all the blather was finished, it was plainly shown that the Trumanite Democrats see eye to eye with the most reactionary Republicans on the key domestic political issue of the day What a useful lesson for the American working class! What a powerful antidote to the labor bureaucracy's lies about the advantages of electing "liberal Democrats"!

SEVEN VOTES AGAINST

Among the 70 who voted for the merged McCarran-Kilgore bill were most of the Trumanites in the Senate. Hubert H. Humphrey (D, Minn.), the fairest-haired boy of the Fair Deal, had in the course of a long speech on the previous day, told the Senate: "I want to be on record as being right for the long run. I know that it is not going to be popular to vote against this (McCarran) bill. I am going to be unpopular. I should rather be unpopular, voting against this bill, than to be popular voting for it, and rue the day a few years from now."

But like all the other capitalist promises, this one was cynically broken the very next day when Humphrey voted in favor of the McCarran bill after it had been combined with the concentration camp provisions of the Kilgore bill. The Humphreys talk differently than the McCarrans, but under pressure they act and vote the same.

As a result, the labor leaders and the liberals have been put in the uneasy seat. CIO President Philip Murray, desperate to salvage something out of the Fair Deal debacle, hastened to send telegrams to the seven Senators who had voted against the final bill, hailing their wisdom and courage and hoping that the day would soon come when the other members of the Senate would realize that these seven had been correct, etc., etc.

But that 70 to 7 vote does not tell the whole story either. If the 70 voted to put an end to the limited kind of democracy that has existed in this country up until now, so did the seven (Graham, Green, Kefauver, Leahy, Lehman, Murray and Taylor, all Democrats).

NOT MUCH DIFFERENT

For on three separate occasions before the final vote was taken, all of these seven voted in favor of the original Kilgore bill to permit "detention" in concentration camps, without the right of trial by jury, of anyone suspected of harboring dangerous thoughts. They voted for this twice when it was submitted as a substitute for the McCarran bill, and then they voted for it a third time when it was submitted as an addition to original McCarran bill.

This means that they bear direct responsibility for helping to make the final bill, McCarran plus Kilgore — which they voted against — even worse than the original NcCarran bill.

In other words, when the true facts become known, Murray and all the other apologists for the two party system will have an impossible task trying to prove that ANY members of these two parties lifted a finger to preserve the Bill of Rights intact.

When the deal was made to combine the two police state measures — and it was made on the initiative of Truman's Majority Leader Lucas — the original supporters of the McCarran bill felt that they had to do something to justify their switchover to support of the Kilgore provisions, which Ferguson (R, Mich.) had previously denounced as "the blueprint of a dictator in America."

DOESN'T MEAN A THING

So after Lucas had offered the deal to the Senate, Ferguson suggested some changes in the Kilgore provisions, which were later incorporated. The main change was an amendment saying: "Nothing contained in this title shall abridge any right or privilege of any citizen of the United States guaranteed to him by the fifth or sixth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, or the right of any such citizen to petition for and to receive a writ of habeas corpus unless such right has been duly suspended in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution." (The McCarran-Kilgore bill abridges just those rights which this amendment says it shall not abridge.)

This caricature of "legal procedure" was designed to save face for the McCarranites, and Lucas said that "in order to get along with the bill, I am willing to accept it as a modification to the amendment, if it will help the Senator from Michigan any." Ferguson replied, "It will certainly be of assistance." And Lucas said, **"I do not think it means a single thing**, but I will accept it as a modification."

On the other hand, not a single Democrat who had previously attacked the McCarran bill as unconstitutional had the decency to get up on the floor and explain why he was switching over to its support. Or maybe it was just that none of them had the gall.

It was a typical bi-partisan "compromise" — at the expense of the American people.

Destroying Korea

Belching clouds of heavy black smoke, the 8-inch guns of a U.S. Navy cruiser blast shore installations on the east coast of Korea. When imperialism gets done with Korea, there may be nothing left worth "liberating."

Korean War and the Negro Press

By Fred Hart

The Negro people continue as usual to be the most sensitive to the hypocrisies and contradictions of American democracy, particularly on the question of war. The Negro press vividly reflects the struggle that is going on among Negroes on the war in Korea. Taking the Pittsburgh Courier as an example, we can follow the development of mass Negro sentiment on this question.

The Courier is perhaps the most prosperous of the Negro newspapers. But its policy has gone a long way from the days when it sponsored the CIO in the Negro community and stressed the necessity for Negroes to align themselves with American labor. Today it is the paper of the Negro middle class.

When the war in Korea broke out, the Courier was full of patriotism. For the first two months, its pages presented a truly disgraceful spectacle. It reported that wounded Negro troops were waiting their turn "for a second crack at the Reds." It asserted that the Negro soldier had tanght the North Koreans to "treat him with respect" on the field of battle. The high proportion of Negro casualties was noted with pride. The tone was jingoistic, chauvinistic.

EMPHASIS SHIFTS

But the middle class Negro is one of the most feeble political types among the population of the U. S. As soon as these sycophants attempt any public activity whatever, they show how absolutely dependent they are upon the Negro mass. The Negro mass is rebellious and, as the last war proved, hostile to the persecutions to which Negroes are subjected in the armed forces under the banner of democracy. The Courier depends on a mass circulation and this has been perfectly evident from its issues of the last month.

The Courier does not, of course, attack the war in principle. But it has opened a vigorous attack upon the practice of discrimination against Negroes in the army. The change is startling.

We learn that there is discrimination against Negro draftees in Mobile and that they have to eat in the kitchen. Great play is given to what is called one of the biggest blunders of the war, an accidental bombing by U. S. planes of the Negro regiment, the 24th Infantry. There is a bitter editorial protest against the reported integration of South Koreans in the U. S. Army while Negroes are still being segregated.

We learn now that there is unrest and discontent in the rank and file of the 24th Infrantry Regiment against their own officers because these white officers slander the regiment. There is widespread suspicion in Korea and here that there is an official plot to break up the 24th Regiment as part of an attempt to discredit Negro troops. There are accounts of sharp conflict between Negro soldiers and white officers, between Negro officers and white officers.

CAUSE OF CHANGE

Formal support of the war continues, but in the Courier and the Negro press as a whole, the emphasis has shifted to mistreatment of Negro troops, race prejudice, fake integration, Jim Crow at home and abroad. It is fairly easy to speculate on what is happening.

The early attitude of the Negro press on the war in all probability called down a storm of criticism from the Negro masses, and even from middle class Negroes who may not be so critical of general social and political capitalist policies but who always have before their eyes the difference between American pretensions and American treatment of Negroes.

During the last war the Negroes finally worked out a policy known as the Double V. This stood for double victory, victory against the foreign enemy and victory on the home front. The great majority of Negroes were infinitely more concerned with the second victory, the victory against Jim Crow, than with the victory against the foreign enemy.

Inside and outside the army, at home and abroad, politically and otherwise, singly and in groups, they fought the American capitalists for their rights as citizens. All through they were handicapped by the opportunistic lickspittling of the middle class Negro leaders, for whom the victory abroad was the primary action to which the struggle for Negro rights had to be subordinated. This was one of the great struggles of the war.

It is obvious already, as the new tone of the Negro press indicates, that this struggle is beginning to be repeated on a higher scale. The middle class leaders are more ready than before to pay for their petty privileges by complete support of the war and hypocritical gestures against Jim Crow. It is equally obvious that the Negro masses are ready to start from where they left off in the last war.

We believe that as usual this relation of forces is symptomatic of the relations of forces in the country as a whole and particularly in the labor movement.

Stalinists' Shabby Role In the Harvester Strike

A day after their 27,000 members on strike at ten plants of the International Harvester Company had returned to work on Sept. 18 without a wage settlement, the leaders of the Farm Equipment Council of the Stalinist-led United Electrical Workers announced an agreement.

The surprise settlement, reported in the Sept. 20 **Daily Worker**, included not only a 10-cent hourly wage increase but "an escalator clause for the remainder of the contract which has about 20 months yet to run." How the clause would operate the **Daily Worker** did not say.

Acceptance of the escalator clause put the FE leaders — and the **Daily Worker** — in an uncomfortable position. They have been attacking automatic cost-of-living wage increase clauses. The FE leaders had rejected joint action with the 22,000 Harvester members of the CIO United Auto Workers, who had initiated the strike and are still out, unless the UAW dropped its demand for an escalator clause.

UNCOMFORTABLE

The **Daily Worker**, trying to cover up for the fact that the FE leaders originally called off the strike with no settlement, claimed that it was ended "after" the company agreed to the new wage terms.

But the FE leaders had issued their back-to-work order on Sept. 15, four days before the settlement with the statement that they would "continue to negotiate when the time presents itself" but that present negotiations were "futile."

Leaders of the UAW strikers, left to fight it out alone with the farm implement trust, called the FE back-to-work order an "act of treachery" that "smacks of collusion" with the company and "strikebreaking."

FE officials last month had reached a tentative agreement with Harvester for increases of only seven cents. This undercut the UAW demand for 15 cents and an escalator clause to keep the basic wage rate abreast of price increases. The UAW called out its members. The company withdrew its offer to FE, which then followed the UAW onto the picket lines.

The FE leaders asked for a strike "unity" meeting with the UAW committee. The later replied that this "desire for unity" was not reflected in FE's making a tentative settlement "on a basis inferior to the UAW-CIO demands, and at a time which was one day prior to the expiration of our contract." The UAW letter suggested that "if your organization can find it possible to increase your wage demands to the level of those for which we are . . . striking, coordination . . . is a possibility."

PREVENTED UNITY

To this, the FE leaders replied that they would not go for united action if the UAW made "the price of unity an 'escalator' clause." This, in effect, was a declaration that the Stalinist-dominated FE leaders would fight the inclusion of an escalator clause in the Harvester contracts and block the UAW's demand even at the cost of dividing and weakening the strike.

Now, the FE explains that "because of the action of the UAW and the present war economy, it appears unrealistic for this (FE) conference board to subject its membership to a long war of attrition against the so called escalator clause." But this escalator clause, which they opposed and which the UAW won for them, will mean added dollars in the pay envelopes of their members precisely because we are in an inflationary "war economy."

Millions Demand Higher Wages

(Continued from Page 1)

such momentum that three international unions which have been notorious for waiving wage demands since 1948 have been forced to issue demands for raises. They are the CIO Textile Workers, CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers.

Although the present contract expires next February, the Textile Workers leaders have opened negotiations for a 20-cent hourly raise for 90,000 workers in the woolen and worsted industry. They have had no increases since 1948. A 10% increase was secured on Sept. 14 for 25,000 TWU members in the New England cotton-rayon industry.

Some sections of David Dubinsky's ILGWU have not had wage increases since 1947, notably the 80,000 New York dressmakers. Average wages in the industry are actually below the 1948 level. If Dubinsky now feels pressed to make demands, it means the members feel conditions have become absolutely intolerable.

Among the major CIO unions, the only one that has thus far failed to raise demands is CIO President Philip Murray's own Steelworkers. He appears determined to wait until the official contract wage reopener date in November before asking for higher wages, although the steel workers have not had an increase since 1948.

The Ford and other auto workers did not place the "sanctity" of imposed contracts above the needs of their families and won higher wages in spite of contracts. Murray, however, appears to hold his contract more "sacred" than the welfare of his union members.

Along with the gains made in recent settlements, the union leaders have accepted terms which in the long run will prove highly disadvantageous to the workers. This is particularly due to the tendency to accept long-term contracts, up to five years in the auto industry.

Unless the workers are in position to raise their basic wage rates, much of the advantage of escalator clauses may be lost over a long period of time. Escalator wage adjustments, at best, are always three months behind prices because, according to the terms of the UAW contracts and others, the wage increase is based on price increases over the previous three-month period. The BLS index does not register the real increase in living costs and especially in periods of rapid price rises, such as the present, its figures lag 'way behind the actual inflation.

LONG-TERM CONTRACTS

Long-term contracts do not make proper allowance for the factor of increased productivity. The average output of industrial workers, for instance, is now increasing at the rate of 3% to 4% yearly. GM and Ford contracts provide for an annual "improvement factor" of just 4 cents an hour, which is 'way below the actual increase in hourly output per year.

Many workers are aware that the union leaders have sacrificed important conditions in order to be able to claim they have won wage increases. That is the reason why a very large minority of the Ford workers voted to reject the new contract. For the same reason, the IUE leaders have run into difficulties in getting their members back to work; the 9,500-member Syracuse GE local voted 2 to 1 against the new settlement and continued to picket.

The most serious threat to the workers is a government wage freeze. No one doubts that Truman intends to invoke his wage-freezing powers as soon as he thinks it expedient, which will not be until after the November elections. This is one big reason why the union leaders, as well as the workers, are anxious to get pay increases now as quickly as possible.

That the union leaders are ready to submit to a wage freeze — and every other imposition on labor that the war government demands — is a foregone conclusion. All the union leaders are begging Truman is to let wages rise a bit to meet past price rises before he puts the clamps on.

Thus, AFL President William Green wrote on Sept. 10 to Earl Bunting, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, that any attempt to freeze wages "at present rates" would be unjust and "wages must be permitted to rise . . . to establish a proper basis of parity before wage controls are considered."

It is apparent that Green is ready to accept wage controls just as soon as some adjustment is made in present wage rates.

A wage freeze under any circumstances would inevitably result in lower living standards, because there is not the slightest possibility that government price controls, if invoked, will prove effective.

'SIMPLE' SPEAKS ABOUT POVERTY AND JIM CROW

By J. Blake

For a down-to-earth story of "how bad my colored condition is" in these United States, particularly in the Northern ghetto, read **Simple Speaks His Mind**, by Langston Hughes. (Simon and Schuster, 1950, 321 pages, $3 cloth cover, $1 paper cover.)

Written originally for the Negro audience of the **Chicago Defender**, the book consists of a series of dialogues in which Jess B. Semple — Simple, to his friends — unburdens his mind to his "colleged" companion, usually in the relaxed atmosphere of a bar.

The scene is Harlem, but the attitudes and experiences are just as much those of ordinary working men like Simple on Central Avenue in Los Angeles or in Chicago's South Side.

TWIN EVILS

The twin evils of poverty and Jim Crow run through the dialogue as they do through the lives of the Negro tenth of the population. The congestion, the loneliness, the insecurity and the instability of Harlem permeate the book.

"The downstairs doorbell rung nine times — my ring," Simple comments in passing. Or, explaining why he stays up at bars so late when he has to rise early to go to work: "Sleep don't worry me. I just hate to go back to my little old furnished room alone." And, "I'm lonesome inside myself."

The resentment against white America's Jim Crow institutions, customs and thinking dominate the book. Sometimes Simple is wistful about it, like when he muses over the possibilities of a law "setting up a few Game Preserves for Negroes . . . some place where we can go and nobody can jump on us and beat us, neither lynch us nor Jim Crow us every day. Colored folks rate as much protection as a buffalo, or a deer."

At other times Simple's wrath is great, and he hopes Christ will come back "mad" and wipe all the white people off the earth. When his educated friend argues that whites bomb each other in wars and "don't treat each other like human beings, so how do you expect them to treat you that way?" Simple replies:

"To be shot down is bad for the body, but to be Jim Crowed is worse for the spirit. Besides, speaking of war, in the next war I want to see Negroes pinning medals on white men."

"How is it two Negroes can never get together without bringing up the race question?" Simple is rebuked by his beer companion.

"Because it is not even a question. It is a hammer over our heads and at any time it may fall."

Simple never misses a chance to take a crack at those responsible for his trials and tribulations as a Negro, but he also enjoys the embarrassment of Harlem's upper crust in one of the most delightful dialogues in the book, "Banquet in Honor."

Despite all the disadvantages of ghetto life, Simple loves Harlem. "It's so full of Negroes," he explains.

"I would not move for no depression. No, I would not go back down South, not even to Baltimore. I am in Harlem to stay! You say the house ain't mine. Well, the sidewalk is — and don't nobody push me off. The cops don't even say, 'Move on,' hardly no more. They learned something from them Harlem riots. They used to beat your head right in public, but now they only beat it after they get you down to the station house." And he likes Harlem too because: "At least, if trouble comes, I will have my own window to shoot from."

ON HARLEM RIOT

In other dialogues Simple has more to say in defense of the Harlem riot of 1943, which the Stalinist Daily Worker review quotes approvingly. If he read their review, Simple would probably ask: "How come you speak that way now, when in 1943 you almost split a gut denouncing us as 'groups of irresponsible elements' who 'began a wholesale looting of stores owned by white storekeepers' and said 'this looting of stores was a shameful act at this moment in our nation's history'?"

As though in reply to the Stalinist of 1943 and the queasy liberals of all periods, the book ends with a conversation in which the "colleged" man sighs:

"One regrets that, after all, life is a conflict."

"I leave them regrets to you," said Simple.

Confessions of an FBI Agent

As Told to Albert Parker

My boss at the FBI says that sometimes I seem "disgruntled." Well, maybe I am, or I wouldn't be telling all this to you. And if I am, I have good reason to be. After all the years I've put in for the FBI, after all the dirty assignments I've carried out and never complained about, after all the people I've seen who got credit for my ideas and suggestions, it wouldn't be human nature if I was satisfied with the way I've been treated.

Glamorous! Everybody thinks our job is glamorous, but it just isn't so. Once I was given the assignment of joining one of those front organizations, Nature Friends. That was hard, grueling and dirty work, believe me. They had me walking up and down half the damned hills in New Jersey, and I caught a terrible case of poison ivy.

Of course J. Edgar had them added to the subversive list after I submitted my report, and my boss said he was recommending me for a promotion, but nothing ever came of it, except that I itch every time I think of it. Most people don't know the kind of sacrifices we have to make.

PATRIOTIC TOO

Of course, if you're lucky and get the breaks, it's a fine job, and the way things are developing nowadays the steadiest kind of job around, next to being a soldier. J. Edgar has put in a request for more agents, and the President has asked Congress to fork over the money for it; there's hardly anything J. Edgar asks that he doesn't get. With the organization expanding all the time, there's a real future for clean-cut young Americans in this job, that's for sure. Plenty of agents are in politics now, members of Congress and so on. It's a lot better than chasing ambulances, that's for sure. And of course it's patriotic too.

Still and all, it has its setbacks. And dangers. Why, you take those registration bills they have up in Congress. You've probably not thought of it, but that really had the Bureau worried. Why? Because everybody belonging to these communist organizations would have to be registered by the officers, or would have to register themselves if the officers failed to do so.

What would happen to us agents who have joined these organizations — in line of duty, of course? Why, we'd have to register too, and then we'd be liable to the same penalties that the communists would. Sure, we'd be protected, but suppose something went wrong, suppose something slipped up — why, we might be in the can for ten years. Stranger things have happened in the espionage business, you know. That's one of the reasons the Department was worried about those bills.

CURSE OF ANONYMITY

And one of the things that gripes a man is having to be anonymous. Other people get all the glory, but we have to stay in the background. Any twobit commie gets religion and recants, he can make a small fortune testifying before committees, making speeches and writing articles and getting a million dollars worth of publicity and glory. But us, we have to do all the work and keep quiet. It doesn't seem just to me, not the real American way.

Or take that fellow Fitzpatrick, who puts out that Red Channels booklet that got such a big play in the Jean Muir case. I've been in the FBI a damned sight longer than he was, but he quit and he's the big shot now, telling people to come and see him and beg him to take their names off his list. Well, where would he be if it wasn't for fellows like me? How would he be able to put out Red Channels if fellows like me didn't root around digging up information? Chasing an ambulance, that's where. Don't tell me that's justice.

NOT A BED OF ROSES

But the worst thing about being anonymous is that I lost my girl friend that way. I had to join a front organization — I won't mention which one, because I may have to get active in it again — and she found out about it. There was the devil to pay, she wouldn't even let me phone her. Not that I blame her altogether — her old man has a job as a watchman at the Post Office, and I guess she didn't want to take any chances.

So I had to ask my boss for permission to explain to her that I'm really an FBI agent doing my patriotic duty by joining that organization. It took a long time before my request went through channels and I got permission, and then it was too late. I stopped her on the street and made her listen, but she said that now she wouldn't want to have anything to do with me even if I was the last man on earth. So don't think my job is a bed of roses.

(Watch for the next installment in this sensational, behind-the-scenes, exclusive series.)

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TROTSKY

"The promise of the Allies to create a democratic European federation this time is the crudest of all pacifist lies. The state is not an abstraction but the instrument of monopoly capitalism. So long as trusts and banks are not expropriated for the benefit of the people the struggle between states is just as inevitable as the struggle between the trusts themselves. Voluntary renunciation by the most powerful state of the advantage given by its strength is as ridiculous a Utopia as voluntary division of capital funds among the trusts. So long as capitalist property is preserved, a democratic 'federation' would be nothing but a worse repetition of the League of Nations, containing all its vices minus only its illusions."

—Leon Trotsky, Imperialist War & Proletarian Revolution, '40.

LENIN

Starvation Is the Penalty

Starvation is the penalty reactionary union leaders are demanding for members who don't accept the politics of the union bureaucrats. Four members of the UAW General Motors local of Linden, N. J., have been condemned to this penalty because they dared to express their political views and distributed "Hands Off Korea" leaflets.

Last week, they were called for trial before a membership meeting, which had been whipped up to a veritable lynch mood against them, and expelled from the union. In the course of the trial, one of the prosecutors, Frank James, claimed that expulsion from the union did not deprive them of a livelihood. He said, "There are plenty of non-union workers in the plant."

But the next day, the company fired the four. A management spokesman explained it was on the basis of the action taken against them by the union. What James failed to add in his statement about non-union men working in the plant, is that the company welcomes only anti-union men who refuse to join the union. But the company is only too glad of the chance to fire pro-union men who for any reason have lost the protection of their union.

There are millions of workers, especially in the AFL, who are covered by closed-shop and union-shop contracts. The company is required by contract to discharge any of them who lose their union membership. In such a case, expulsion from the union is a direct sentence of starvation for a worker and his family.

That's what the AFL Executive Council advocated in its report to the AFL convention in Houston urging its affiliates to expel all "communists." This is nothing less than a proposal to deprive of their livelihood any member whom the union bureaucrats choose to call "communist." A "communist," in the vernacular of the AFL bureaucracy, is anyone who opposes any policy of the reactionary leadership.

Time was when the unions had to fight for their lives against "conspiracy" laws and the capitalists who called all union men "reds" and "anarchists." The unions grew strong and great in the battle to defend the political rights of their members as well as their economic rights.

Today a bunch of fat, mercenary leeches living off the union membership and calling themselves "labor statesmen" are trying to turn the unions into instruments for curbing and shackling the workers. And they are using that most potent weapon — the threat of starvation — to terrorize opposition.

Subway Incident

The other day, as a train was pulling into a New York subway station, there was a short circuit caused by a faulty brake. Following a sudden flash, some smoke billowed and the train suddenly stalled. In the New York subway system such accidents are by no means uncommon. As a rule, these periodic breakdowns merit a few lines and the resulting delay in traffic is duly noted. This time, however, it received front page headlines.

Mechanically the mishap was a minor one, but the reaction of the passengers was not. That's what made it news. Men and women inside the stalled train clawed at each other to get to the doors, while others battled to smash windows in a frantic efforts to escape. More than a score were injured. The panic seized even those on the platform, some of whom rushed to hide behind stairways and other protected areas. There were cries of "Bombers!" and "War!" The flare of a short-circuit and some fumes were enough to convince those in the train and in the station that the city was being atom-bombed and that a new world war had started.

This incident discloses, of course, how deep-seated and widespread is the fear of war among the great mass of the people. But it shows more than this. It is also a striking confirmation of how little confidence is being placed nowadays in the most authoritative assurance emanating from Washington that the course followed since the Korean crisis offers the way to preserve peace, that the arms program is the best security against war, and so on.

Nobody really believes in the "peace" tripe served up around the clock by the vast capitalist propaganda machine. Certainly not the passengers of the New York subways, who represent a typical cross-section of the American population.

Coupled with the dread of war is a growing mistrust of those in the seats of power. Large layers of the populations, like those caught up in the subway panic, are still themselves unaware of these moods of mistrust, of their own inner revulsion against all phases of the stepped-up war preparations.

But these moods are beginning to take shape. That is shown by the subway incident, which affords a truer and more intimate glimpse of the developing mass moods than all the public-opinion polls put together.

Sparing the Rich

No matter what "emergencies" may be publicly proclaimed, it is always "business as usual" so far as Congress is concerned when it comes to such things as taxes. The interests of the rich, first and foremost, their pocketbooks, are always protected — but good! The poor invariably get soaked — but plenty!

The tax bill being rushed through Congress won't even plug up the worst of the scandalous "loopholes" whereby the plutocrats actually escape paying any taxes at all. For example, it has been estimated that some $200,000,000 annually remain unpaid on unreported corporation dividends to individuals. It was proposed to slap a 10% withholding tax on such payments. The House actually passed such a provision. It was thrown out in the joint committee conference. Coupon clippers can continue pocketing this whopping sum.

Or take another scandal, little publicized. By a "quirk" in legislation the insurance companies — which are among the biggest super-monopolies and profiteers in the world — have actually been exempt from federal taxes since 1947. You may be sure that this "oversight" did not occur without the active participation of the insurance moguls and the financial tycoons (often one and the same gang). These gentlemen have also taken good care to see that this "quirk" remained uncorrected all these many and lush years.

How much have they pocketed meanwhile? Well, the retroactive House provision is estimated to amount to $176 million in taxes for 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950, or close to a billion dollars! The actual amount of unpaid insurance taxes is unquestionably much bigger.

So the joint conference not only slashed the insurance tax rate to one-third of the proposed House rate but also made payments retroactive only to 1949. This amounts approximately to a quarter of a billion dollars in taxes, leaving three-quarters of the stolen billion safe and sound in the coffers of these big-time thieves.

There is, naturally, no provision at all for an excess profits tax. There is plenty of time for such trifles. It will be done "after the elections," promise those Congressmen who are a little worried about the possible repercussion among their constituents.

But there is no time to lose when it comes to soaking the poor. The tax bill must be rushed to the "White House in time for higher withholding rates on wages and salaries to take effect on Oct. 1, as provided." (N.Y. Times, Sept. 21.)

The Steel Nationalization Controversy in Britain

By Paul G. Stevens

The British Labor government risked another general election this year when Winston Churchill challenged its intention to go through with the nationalization of the steel industry. Speaking in the House of Commons for his party, the Tory leader had asked in a routine question period where the Attlee cabinet stood on this matter, in view of this international "period of tension and danger." A cabinet spokesman immediately replied that the government intended to proceed with taking over the industry as of next January, in accordance with the law passed by Parliament last year. The Tories then demanded a showdown. In a vote strictly along party lines, the Laborites won by 306 to 300.

The Tory move was not unexpected. The capitalists and their political representatives have been incessant in their campaign to halt the nationalization of the key steel industry from the moment it was first proposed. They regard such action in steel as a body blow and entirely different from the previous nationalizations which, as in the case of coal and railroads, turned hopelessly unprofitable businesses into relatively safe investments for them.

What suprised most capitalist newspapers and commentators in England as well as here was the decision of Prime Minister Clement Attlee's Laborite cabinet to meet the issue squarely and face a showdown on it. The British labor leaders have been trying to soft-pedal nationalizations ever since before the elections last February. Like all reformists, they are inclined to compromise with the capitalists rather than to fight on crucial issues. Their whole policy in the elections last February was based on the idea that they must not "antagonize the middle class vote" by any issues smacking at all of socialism and class conflict.

WHAT EXPLAINS SHIFT?

Last week's decision therefore seemed to be a reversal in line, particularly since it comes at a time when reformists generally call for "national unity" in the face of international tension and war danger.

There have been explanations in the press that the risky move of the Attlee government is due primarily to jockeying for political position with the Tory party. The Laborite leadership feels that now is the propitious time for it to face another election and increase appreciably its parliamentary majority, which at present is too slim for comfort. That political maneuvers, on both sides, have contributed to setting the stage is unquestionable.

But it is necessary to go beyond these maneuvers and into the correlation of the class forces that condition all maneuvers in order to understand their whys and wherefores. The question is what is it that makes Attlee and Company think they can or must risk an election at this time rather than continue to postpone steel nationalization?

There have been numerous indications ever since the last elections that the militant temper of the masses of workers in Britain has been rising. The solid turnout of the working class vote last February, amidst defections of the Laborite middle class following — a turn-out which alone enabled the Labor Party to squeeze through with a majority while the political tide was changing — this already indicated to the leadership that the workers were not in a mood for retreats. Since then there has been continual pressure in the economic field.

This pressure culminated two weeks ago in a number of significant defeats for the Attlee leadership at the Trades Union Congress. The most important of these was the majority vote against any further wage-freeze and in favor of the enforcement of equal pay for equal work for women — an issue which plays a bigger role in England today than most political observers realize. There was also an outcry against the continued mulcting of the nationalized industries for compensation payments to the former owners and against the enormous profits being reaped by the steel barons. In addition, there was an important and growing minority calling for workers control.

RISKS MASS REVOLT

Under these circumstances, it was more risky for the Laborite leadership to face a revolt of the masses who form its solid political support by delaying action on the steel act than by going through with it. This becomes particularly clear when we note that the workers, no less than the capitalists, regard the nationalization of steel — and in Britain steel has its tentacles in the whole complex of the country's industries — as the test of the seriousness of the Labor Party program. As one of the chief publicists of the Attlee regime has put it, to go back on steel would simply be interpreted by the workers as downright betrayal.

The declared intention to go through with the steel law was thus the least the labor leaders could do at present and still retain their hold on their working class following. For, with their participation in the war program of Allied imperialism, the Laborites will hardly be able to improve or even maintain wage standards and living conditions under the press of inflation and the new taxes to pay for the arms program.

Their apparent reversal in policy on the nationalization program does not at all mean a change of heart. On the contrary, remaining reformists and collaborators of capitalism as they have always been, they are nevertheless astute enough to know that they cannot attempt to lead the workers of England into the threatening imperialist war without yielding to the mass pressure as it mounts.

WHAT THEY HOPE FOR

They hope that by yielding to it partially on domestic issues they will be better able to forestall mass disruption of their foreign policy, for which the Tories eagerly voted in the Commons. In this, they no doubt expect the support of a good part of the middle class who turned to Churchill last February and who have since had occasion to feel the power of the working class as well as of the workers' determination not to retreat. That is also why the Labor leaders feel that an election maneuver at this time is a paying risk for them.

Whether the calculations of the Labor leaders will work out as planned is another matter. The impact of class pressures unfolds a logic of its own. A victory for steel nationalization can very well entail a further increase in class consciousness among British workers. The growth of class consciousness may make several breaches in the dam set up by the present reformist leaders and, under favorable circumstances, may even bring pressure for a change toward a proletarian, internationalist foreign policy as well.

Italian Trotskyist Groups Hold Their 2nd Convention

The second national convention of the Italian Trotskyists (the Revolutionary Communist Groups) was held on July 29-Aug. 2. The delegates attending represented groups from Rome, Naples, Venice, Milan, Turin, Perugia, Sardinia, Palermo and Genoa. The Trieste group sent a letter explaining that it was unable to attend.

The convention discussed the following questions: The organization report, which gave a detailed survey of the organization and presented a plan for future work (publication of party periodicals, a trade union bulletin, conferences, training school for militants). The report underscored the progress accomplished despite the still weak ties with the working class.

Next taken up were the political and trade union reports, the Yugoslav question and the agrarian situation in Italy. Statutes for the organization were adopted and a Central Committee was elected.

A resolution was adopted instructing the leadership to effect as soon as possible the transfer of its headquarters to the North and orienting the groups to center their activities on the proletarianization of the organization.

A representative of the International Secretariat conveyed to the convention the greetings of the Fourth International and made a report on the work of the Eight Plenum of the International Executive Committee.

U. S. PRESSES TO REARM GERMANY, ALLIES STALL

The Truman administration moved might and main to force the issue of rearming Germany in the secret meeting with Foreign Ministers Bevin and Schuman at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City. While publicly disclaiming any "intention to ream Germany," Secretary of State Acheson permitted it to leak to the press that he was pressing for "an agreement in principle on arming Germany," which is diplomatic double-talk for exactly the same thing.

What is more significant, the rearming of Germany has been wrapped up in "a single package" with the rest of the European arms program. Take it or leave it. Faced with this ultimatum Britain and France are obviously stalling. The discussions went beyond the scheduled dates and then the conference recessed, without any agreement being reached last week. The conferees will reconvene "some time during the next two weeks."

The capitalist press openly admits that there is a "snag" over the issue of rearming Germany, which cannot be accomplished without, among other things, bringing the Nazi militarists and industrialists back to a powerful position in Europe. James Reston, the political expert of the N. Y. Times, commented on Sept. 18 that "the conference to date has been a disappointment" and "a little frustrating to all concerned."

WHY EUROPE WORRIES

Let us here give the floor to the columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick to explain what it is that renders the arms program itself so touchy for European politicians. In her Times column of Sept. 18 she writes that "there is powerful resistance, in France and throughout Europe, to a speed-up of rearmament. No European government is strong enough to face with confidence the political effects of a return to austerity before the population has accumulated any fat to squeeze."

After commenting that "the prospect of financing a rearmament program, even with American aid, fills finance ministers with dread," she then adds the following significant words: "Equally dreaded is the undertow of anti-war, anti-conscription feeling that inspires the youth of Europe and raises doubts about the potency of the potential armies."

A resurgence of German militarism and power could only add further fuel to the fires of mass opposition and resentment. Washington is prepared to meet this head on. Its British and French (and other European) colleagues cannot afford this, they must carefully probe their way and prepare the ground at each step. Hence the complaints that the U. S. demands are "premature," that more time is needed for discussion and "consultation," that there is not enough arms to go around and the Atlantic allies must have the priority, etc.

The war-maddened crew in the Pentagon and Capitol Hill and the White House must of course take these stalling attempts into account, but they refuse to be deterred. In addition to behind-the-scenes pressure they have planted in the press two sensational items.

DOUBLE PRESSURE

The first is that Truman has issued orders for the State Department to propose a peace treaty with Japan "placing no restrictions on rearmament."

The second is that the "aid program" to Greece is to be cut up to 10% and maybe more on the ground that the Athens government has not made "sufficient efforts" of its own.

There is no pressing reason why either or both of these announcements could not have been made public a few weeks earlier or later. They were obviously timed for the benefit of the "snag" in the foreign ministers' conference.

By announcing the unrestricted rearming of Japan, Washington underscores its determination to pursue a similar course in Germany.

The threat implied in the action against the Athens government is equally obvious. Every government that refuses to toe the line laid down by Washington faces a slash in the "aid program." And this is a prospect dreaded by every European government just as much as that of financing a rearmament program.

POLICY STATEMENT FOR NEW GERMAN PARTY

By Charles Hanley

The Sept. 4 Militant reported that "a movement to create a new workers party, independent of Stalinism and Social Democracy, is now making strong headway in Western Germany. On July 23, a conference to lay the basis for the new party was held in Ratingen near Dusseldorf."

The first issue of Freie Tribune, independent weekly newspaper for a genuine socialist policy published by the committee for the formation of an Independent Workers Party of Germany, appeared on Aug. 12. It contains interesting material on the crisis of German Stalinism. It tells of the numerous communists who have broken away from the Kremlin and its native stooges because they understand that the Stalinists like the Social Democrats are continuously betraying socialism, and that only a consistent socialist policy can save the German working class.

In their statement of policy the former CP functionaries, SP members, trade unionists and members of independent Marxist groups who assembled at Ratingen, first explain that German capitalism, though controlled by Western monopolists, is independently exploiting the West German workers, and that the capitalist class of West Germany, approved and supported by the three Western powers, is making the German workers pay the cost of the lost war and the fascist collapse. The Marshall Plan has strengthened the position of the German exploiters and is a bulwark against progress and socialism. West Germany is not a U.S. colony, therefore the Stalinist slogan for a "national front" with the German capitalists for "national liberation" is absurd. The Schuman Plan is cited as proof of the relatively independent part which the German capitalists will be able to play in the imperialist camp.

The declaration then goes on to analyze the situation in East Germany: In West Germany the workers have at least a formal possibility of defending their interests, but the East German masses have almost no possibility of defending themselves against the Stalinist (SED) party and government machine and against the Soviet bureaucracy of which the East German state is a mere agency.

Role of Traditional Parties

Next the declaration emphasizes that the present state of Germany reflects the world political situation. Decaying capitalism on one side, anti-internationalist Stalinism on the other. The German working class today has no political class representation of its own. The CP is yoked to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and has lost much of its influence. The Social Democratic Party is proud of being the physician at the sickbed of capitalism; it tries to profit from antagonisms between the Western powers and plays its role of "opposition" to the Bonn government with a certain success. But its relative strength is due to the absence of a genuine working class party.

As regards the danger of a new world war, the statement warns that only by an intensified struggle against the exploiters in their own country can the workers secure peace. Signatures on peace petitions cannot achieve this. The best allies of the European and German working class and of the entire world proletariat are the colonial and semi-colonial peoples fighting for freedom against world capitalism.

The Ratingen statement then stresses the necessity of creating a socialist workers' movement. This is the main task of German Marxists. Neither the anti-Marxist Social Democratic leadership, nor the CP which has also revised Marxism-Leninism, has been able to shake the correctness of the principles of scientific socialism. On the contrary, these have time and again proved to be right, and must remain the basis of the socialist movement which is to inherit the proud tradition of the German labor movement. This movement must be free and independent, but must establish contacts with groups and parties all over the world which have the same goal — a socialist society without exploitation, with happiness, peace and security for all. A socialist movement cannot be successful without internal democracy and without international solidarity.

The new movement is just beginning and many difficulties lie ahead, the statement concludes. But German workers are beginning to realize that the traditional workers parties are no longer capable of attaining the socialist goals. The socialist movement in Germany has long and great traditions; its creative force will prove stronger than the apparatus of the revisionists of Marxism.

They Deserve to Be Congratulated

This is a truly socialist declaration. The delegates who met at the Ratingen conference should be congratulated on the clarity with which they have expressed their opposition to Social Democratic reformism and Stalinism and on their loyalty to internationalist socialism in the spirit of Marx and Lenin. The publication of Freie Tribune and the projected formation of an Independent Workers Party are important steps toward the regeneration of the German labor movement and will be warmly welcomed by everyone interested in the rebirth of genuine socialism all over the world.

What opportunities await the Independent Workers Party may be seen from the local example of the city of Worms (Rhine) where three years ago six communists were expelled from the CP. They formed an organization called "Socialist Union." When this group participated in municipal elections for the first time, it won five seats in the City Council. The CP got only three. In the last parliamentary elections the "Socialist Union" received 5,000 votes.

Freie Tribune also reports the arrest in Russia of Zenzl Muhsam, the widow of the German socialist poet and militant (murdered by the Nazis in July 1934). The Soviet authorities refuse to give any information about the fate of Zenzl Muhsam.

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THE MILITANT

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Thoughts on Trial

By Harry Ring

SWP Candidate for Comptroller of New York

The thought-control system of the Japanese Mikado was once held up as a horrible example of totalitarianism which must be kept from our shores at all costs. Today in New York City a thought-control system little different from that of the Japanese Mikado has been clamped upon the public schools.

In the pattern of imperial Tokyo, Tammany New York is driving hard for victims. Eight teachers, suspended without pay last May on the fiat of William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, are now coming up for a kangaroo hearing.

Jansen charged the eight with "insubordination and conduct unbecoming teachers." The real charge, however, is having thoughts that do not dovetail with those of the Democratic and Republican machines.

This became crystal clear last week at the opening of the hearing for David L. Friedman, head of the English Department of Public School No. 64, who has been teaching satisfactorily in the city schools for almost 24 years. Attorney McGrath, mouthpiece for the Board of Education, in outlining the case said nothing about "insubordination." Instead, he said he would try to prove Friedman was a member of the Communist Party.

First witness for the prosecution was neither a fellow teacher, student nor superior of Friedman who might charge him with "insubordination" or "incompetence." Instead it was a government stool pigeon brought all the way from Royal Oak, Michigan.

This miserable professional witness is Joseph Zack Kornfeder, a former Stalinist leader, who does not even know Friedman. Kornfeder spent his whole time in the witness chair giving his version of what he considers to be the tenets of the American Communist Party. That version, shaped according to witch-hunt requirements, makes out the Stalinists to be genuine followers of Marx and Lenin and in addition addicted to "force and violence" and the "violent overthrow of the government." This is the case which the government tried out to make out against the leadership of the Stalinist party in the trial at Foley Square, and which The Militant pointed out at the time, has no connection with the truth.

The American Stalinists are neither advocates of "force and violence" nor followers of the liberating program of Marx and Lenin. They are simply professional propagandists or deluded followers of the dictatorial Stalin regime.

The ideas and arguments of the Stalinists cannot stand the touch of truth and reason. In an atmosphere of free discussion they are invariably discredited. But the Democratic and Republican machines are just as vulnerable to truth and reason as the Stalinists. In a school system where students are taught to freely examine ideas, Wall Street's economic, social and political views cannot withstand scrutiny.

That is why the plutocracy and its stooges need a thought-control system. They try to pick Stalinists as their first victim because of their unpopularity. However, this is only the first step. If Stalinists can be fired from jobs because of what they **think** and not what they **do**, then no one is safe.

The trial procedure for the eight victimized teachers smacks of the Nazi courts. A trial examiner, Theodore Kiendl, hears the opposing evidence and arguments. He then makes a "recommendation" to the Board of Education. However, the Board is not even bound by this kangaroo decision. It can accept, reject or modify his findings. Thus this reactionary body can victimize any teacher it considers to be of an independent turn of mind.

And make no mistake about this Board being reactionary. When the Catholic hierarchy howled about articles in **The Nation** revealing some of the evil effects of their intervention in American politics, the Board banned this liberal magazine from the school libraries. Wide popular protest has not been able to move the Board to rescind this two-year-old ban.

And when a fascist-minded teacher, May Quinn, voiced vicious racist propaganda in her classes against the Jewish people, thus arousing a storm of indignation among the poor people of New York, the Board of Education stood in her defense with a firmness which Dictator Franco of Spain himself might well approve.

The Real Profiteers

By Frank Poole

Soaring war prices are due only to a few "unpatriotic chiselers," according to W. Stuart Symington. The former corporation big-shot whom Truman has made top policy man in the war economy set-up told a Senate committee on Sept. 15 that the sudden flare-up in prices of virtually every commodity is the fault merely of "people new in the market, organized to make an illegal or black market profit, or at least a profiteering profit."

Symington tries to convey the notion that if it weren't for a handful of penny-ante speculators who have jumped in to make a dirty buck out of war scarcities, there would be no price inflation. This serves to divert attention from those really responsible for price gouging — the big monopoly corporations, the "legitimate" profiteers.

If what Symington says is true, the problem of halting price rises would be relatively simple. It would take no great policing job — particularly with the aid of alert consumers — to crack down on these few fly-by-night "people new in the market."

The only serious defect in Symington's statement is that it's a lie. He knows there is scarcely a commodity today that is not controlled by monopolies, established corporations, who fix prices by agreement among themselves and charge whatever the traffic will bear. Small dribbles of goods may get into the hands of petty speculators. But the vast bulk of commodities — from the raw materials to the finished products — is made and sold by the great trusts.

When milk and bread prices were hiked in New York City within a day or so after the Korean war began, those price boosts were initiated by the dairy trust headed by Bordens and corporation bakeries like the National Baking Company. It wasn't "black-market" dealers butchering diseased cattle in some filthy hide-away who jerked up meat prices to record heights two weeks after war began. It was the Big Four meat trust of Armour, Swift, Wilson and Cudahey.

Paul C. Smith, a Swift vice-president, brazenly told a Senate Agriculture subcommittee hearing on Sept. 8 that "in the meat business you have to take advantage of increased demand by immediately raising prices." This was his statement after the committee's counsel, Paul Hadlick, pointing to the swift rise in Swift's prices immediately after the Korean events began, showed that while hogs in the livestock market went up 4½ cents a pound between the end of June and the end of July, Swift charged retailers 18 cents more per pound for pork loins.

From the end of June until the middle of September, the official index of wholesale commodity prices has soared from 264 to 332 — nearly 26%. This covers the basic commodities that determine the general level of prices. It is notable that industrial prices — what the big corporations charge — have risen twice as fast as farm products.

Symington indicated the government intends to make an example of a few petty "hoarders." But this is to cover up for the "unpatriotic chiselers" on the grand scale — the 670 leading manufacturers whose half-year profits **before the Korean war began** "was a rise of 22 per cent over the similar six months of 1949." (N.Y. Times survey, Sept. 17.)

For every dollar in "profiteering profits" the small-fry businesses are making out of war-brought price rises, the monopoly corporations are making a thousand.

The statement of Symington reveals two things: 1. Prices are going to rise because the government intends to protect the big corporations. 2. To cover up its Big Business policy and make a pretense of attacking "profiteering profits," the government may go after some chicken-feed "chiselers."

'Patriots' Leave Jail

By J. Blake

Two high class criminals were released from prison by the Federal Parole Board this month; the honorable ex-Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, New Jersey Republican and former chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the honorable ex-Congressman Andrew Jackson May, Kentucky Democrat who headed the House Military Affairs Committee during World War II.

Thomas was convicted of defrauding the government of about $8,000 in kick-backs from persons on his payroll and in padded payrolls. He could have been given the maximum of 32 years in prison and a fine of $40,000 for the 34 overt acts — not thoughts, mind you — listed in his indictment. But Thomas pleaded "no defense" and the merciful court sentenced him to only six to eighteen months and a $10,000 fine.

His colleague, May, while being paid out of the juicy tax deductions from our war-time wages presumably to protect our interests, accepted bribes of $53,000 from private businessmen in return for using his influence to obtain contracts for them. May was convicted in July 1947 but managed to keep out of jail by appeal maneuvers so that he did not start to serve his eight to twenty-four month term until last December.

The Federal Parole Board took into consideration the "poor health," advanced age and "excellent conduct" records of the illustrious convicts in releasing them this month after each had served only nine months of his sentence.

Of course, in the case of a couple of ordinary Joes who happen to land in jail for strike activity or something like that, the parole boards usually want to know whether they have seen the error of their ways, whether they have jobs waiting for them and will not be "a burden to society," etc.

But such criteria apparently do not apply to crooks who held high public office. As Thomas left the federal correctional institution at Danbury he stated that he was confident that in due time he would be "judged innocent of wrongdoing." Obviously this hardened, unrepentant criminal thinks it is OK to go on padding payrolls if only given another chance.

His former colleague, May, just a month ago practically received a bi-partisan vote of confidence from his buddies in the House of Representatives who applauded vigorously when Democratic Leader John W. McCormack (Mass.) hailed him as "a great American" while Rep. Dewey Short (R., Mo.) praised May for rendering "a great and honorable service to his nation during World War II."

The practice of freeing capitalist politicians caught red-handed cashing in on their official posts in wartime was set earlier this year by President Truman when he brazenly granted a "full and unconditional pardon" to former Mayor James M. Curley of Boston, another patriotic swindler. Curley had collected $60,000 by promising some clients government contracts. When he failed to deliver, some disgruntled clients squawked, and Curley was convicted of using the mails to defraud. He was sentenced to six to eighteen months in jail. Truman's intervention freed him after he had served only five months.

And then they complain when workers denounce capitalist justice!

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Large Minority Opposes Ratifying Of Ford Contract

DETROIT — Despite an hourly wage increase and an escalator clause in the new Ford contract, a large minority of the Ford workers voted against it when they learned of the other clauses it contained. These "jokers" in the contract leave the issue of speed-up and of "decentralizing" the Rouge plant completely in company hands.

The vote in Local 600, which contains more than half of all the Ford workers, was announced as 18,578 for and 12,224 against. Local Lincoln, which was the first to vote on the contract, rejected it by a 96% majority. While some of the smaller Ford locals at Waterford, Mich., Canton, O., Edgewater and Dundee, N. J., accepted the contract, it was rejected by Highland Park Local 400 and the Buffalo plant.

The new contract is the old one extended for five years with two new important additions.

"WAIVER" CLAUSE

One of the new clauses which aroused bitter opposition is the so-called "waiver" clause. It completely bars any collective bargaining on any issue already covered in the contract, and on any issues arising in the future, regardless of whether the union or the company had "knowledge or contemplation" of such problems.

Contained in the agreement are such sweeping provisions as: "The Company retains the sole right to manage its business including the right to decide the number and location of its plants," and "The right of the Company to establish and enforce production standards."

It can readily be seen why Ford is more than happy about the "waiver" clause and the foregoing provisions. It guarantees that Ford can go about his business of increasing production and "decentralizing" the Rouge plant, without any intervention by the union leadership on behalf of the workers.

The two biggest issues facing the Ford Rouge workers, that of speed-up and the run-away shop, have thus been put on the shelf to be forgotten.

The "waiver" clause ties the hands of the union more than any other clause ever written into a union contract.

SPEEDUP ALREADY ON

Ford Motor Co. didn't even wait for the ratification vote before raising production standards in many departments in the Rouge. While the workers were still engaged in voting on the new contract, they were told by the foremen that they had to meet the newly established higher production rates.

Walter Reuther along with the union negotiating committee bear full responsibility for all this because they agreed to it. In exchange for a few cents an hour they traded away the future livelihood and the daily working conditions of the rank and file workers.

Among the Rouge workers there was considerable dissatisfaction with the way the vote on the contract was conducted. These workers objected to the irregular manner in which this vote was held in comparison to the regular Local and Unit elections of several months ago. The workers did not vote by units; there were no lists of names to be checked off as each person voted; there were no Certified Public Accountants conducting the polling and the ballot counting; the ballot boxes remained unguarded overnight.

There was only a brief interval between the actual announcement of the agreement and the voting days. No union meeting was held at which the workers could discuss the contract.

Unite to Smash Jim Crow System

"Smash the Jim Crow system. Full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and other minorities. Pass and enforce legislation to punish lynching, abolish the poll tax, establish a Fair Employment Practices Committee with power to root out discriminatory practices, eliminate segregation wherever it exists. Combat anti-Semitism in all its forms. Wipe out discriminatory immigration policies and open the doors of the U.S. to refugees. Unite the workers of all races for the common struggle against their exploiters." — From the Socialist Workers Party's 1950 Election Platform.

$1-A-Year Man Confers

Discussing requirements of the steel industry, William H. Harrison, head of the National Production Authority, confers in Washington with President Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel and Secretary of Commerce Sawyer. Harrison is on leave from his job as president of International Telephone and Telegraph.

Phila. NAACP Holds Second Meeting on Police Brutality

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 18 — A second protest meeting was held here last Wednesday by the NAACP at Mt. Olive Baptist Church, to rally support of the community for another victim of police brutality — Joshua Mason, a barber and veteran — and to organize the necessary actions to stop further outrages against the Negro people.

Joshua Mason was so severely beaten with blackjacks and fists that 13 stitches had to be taken in his head and lips. His "crime" was walking the streets of his neighborhood carrying a portable radio.

Because he resented being harassed by the police for no justifiable reason, Mason was beaten, spent the night in jail and was released only after posting bond which cost him $40. He is now out on bail charged with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and assaulting an officer.

This brutality occurred a few days after the campaign against police terror had been initiated around the beatings of Oscar Williams and Alice and Barbara Smith.

The police seem to have taken heed of one detective's suggestion after the South Philadelphia community had become aroused by the brutalities in their neighborhood. The detective had stated at that time: "If they have to beat up anybody, they don't have to do it in the street." Mason received his treatment behind closed doors.

Mason and Oscar Williams both related to the meeting their experiences with the tender mercies of the police, and urged united action to make the streets of Philadelphia safe for our neighbors, our friends and our families. The blows that they received, it was made clear, are waiting for every man, woman and child in the Negro community unless such united action is taken.

Rev. Marshall Shepherd, Negro Democratic spokesmen, urged Negroes to use their political power to oust those in office who abuse the rights of Negroes and called for the removal of Public Safety Commissioner Rosenberg and Police Commissioner Parson, both Republicans.

Theodore Spaulding, Republican candidate for Congress and member of the NAACP National Board, described another case of police brutality.

The purpose of the meeting was somewhat obscured by the remarks of Thelma Dale, of the Progressive Party, who spoke about "disruption" at the previous NAACP branch meeting. She seemed more interested in seeing that the do-little local NAACP leadership (which she supports) got "due credit" for its activities than in the real business before the meeting. This factional and sectarian attitude was definitely out of place at a public meeting against police brutality.

W. Gardner Smith, Pittsburgh Courier reporter and novelist, tried to concretize the discussion by proposing a series of actions: 1. That as large a delegation as possible from the Mason meeting call on Mayor Samuels to demand the dismissal of Rosenberg and Assistant Commissioner of Police Sutton. 2. That petitions be circulated calling for their dismissal. 3. That a continuations committee of 10 persons, charged with planning and organizing further activities against police brutality, be appointed immediately. 4. That all funds raised in the petition campaign be placed at the disposal of this continuations committee.

But the proposed delegation to the Mayor was delayed indefinitely after Mrs. Goldie Watson of the NAACP executive committee argued that "time should be allowed to properly organize" such a delegation.

After cross-discussion and heckling on the proposals broke out, Mrs. Clyde Turner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator, got the floor. Advocating the mobilization of the entire community and giving a voice to all who are affected by police brutality, she called for a broad continuations committee consisting of any and all persons who want to participate in the struggle. This motion was greeted by a round of applause and adopted unanimously.

Unfortunately, the meeting ended in disorder and heated debate arising out of a squabble over how to use the proceeds from the meeting. Its termination on a note of internal conflict was regrettable; all differences should be subordinated to the struggle against the common foe. This weakness is due to distrust flowing from years of bureaucratic inactivity by the local NAACP leaders.

But the need for united action against police brutality is greater than ever. In recognition of this need, Clyde Turner has accepted chairmanship of a committee responsible for planning a neighborhood protest meeting on the Oscar Williams case.

SWP Prevented From Running Mayor Candidate

By Michael Bartell

SWP Candidate for Governor of New York

NEW YORK, Sept. 18 — Another dirty chapter in the machine-ridden politics of New York came to an end last week when Supreme Court Justice Bernard Botein set Sept. 16 as the deadline for independent nominating petitions for mayor of the world's biggest city.

O'Dwyer resigned Sept. 2 for a gravy-train appointment as Ambassador to Mexico. Botein's decision left a bare week for printing of petitions and signature gathering. This was so raw that even the Wall Street machines thought a bit of a retreat was in order. And so Botein extended the time one week — sufficient for Acting Mayor Impellitteri to file nominating petitions for himself, but not enough time for any of the minority political parties to get in under the wire.

Friends of the Socialist Workers Party urged us to run a candidate for the office vacated by O'Dwyer. Given a reasonable time, we thought of trying to meet the stiff requirement of a minimum of 7,500 valid signatures. Our experience in getting signatures on a state-wide basis for our N. Y. State slate indicated that we could succeed despite the difficulties.

However, the judge's decision left no alternative but to let the mayoralty campaign go by uncontested this year.

Impellitteri, of course, had no difficulty meeting the requirements. Hastily cooking up an "Experience Party" to run him as its nominee, he turned loose a battery of professional signature-gatherers and machine hangers-on to round up names.

HOW JUDGES ARE MADE

Tammany offered Impellitteri a 14-year judgeship paying $28,000 a year if he would decline to run in favor of Pecora. That's how judges are made in capitalist politics.

But Impellitteri apparently decided to play the stakes high and either move into Gracie Mansion for a full term or sleep in the streets. Possibly he has already consulted with the Republican machine about a happier alternative in case he turns up a losing number when the votes are counted. In any case he refused to make way for Tammany's choice of Pecora as a respectable-looking front man whom the liberals and union bureaucrats can support without too much embarrassment.

Impellitteri fell into office by a fluke. He was in line for succession in case O'Dwyer died or resigned. No doubt thinking of how Truman hit the jackpot by a similar turn of the political wheel and how the Pendergast ward-heeler managed to stay in office despite the pollsters' forecasts and other inauspicious omens, Impellitteri decided to play out his lucky streak. If a nonentity of the corrupt Kansas City machine could do it, why not Impellitteri?

His chances for a sizable vote are good. New York's biggest tabloid, the reactionary Daily News has hailed his move; he has converted WNYC, the municipal radio station, into a campaign instrument; and a good section of the city bureaucracy, which includes some 20,000 police, is plugging for him.

BUREAUCRATS BACK OUT

This professional machine politician started out with the endorsement of the United Labor Committee, a CIO-AFL body of union heads formed for "political unity." Politics to these bureaucrats is the same cynical business as it is to the Wall Street professionals, a foul horsetrading of high-paying posts at the expense of the labor movement and the people of the city.

Within a few days, Tammany cracked the whip. The CIO chiefs wasted no time laying a blackjack behind Impellitteri's ear and switching to Pecora. Some of the AFL heads dragged their feet. Finally with the heat on, Impellitteri himself released Martin T. Lacey, head of the Central Trades and Labor Council, from his pledge of support "through thick and thin."

In this way the greater part of New York's labor bureaucrats once more ended up a shameful exhibit on the Tammany circus wagon.

Pecora is now being ballyhooed as a great liberal, but his program is indistinguishable from that of any of the other tools of Big Business who have enjoyed the unusual opportunities City Hall offers in the way of power, prestige, profit and plunder.

The labor movement of New York City must again pay through the nose for not having its own party to put its own candidates in office.

Reuther Tries to Steal Credit for Wage Raises

DETROIT — Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, wants to steal the credit for the pay raises recently won by wildcat strikes of the rank and file. He also is trying to cover up these actions, since they represent a blow at his program and prestige.

In the September issue of United Auto Worker, the Reuther administration presents its explanation of how the recent cost-of-living wage increases were won. The paper does not say a single word about the wave of walkouts. The fighting tactics of tens of thousands of rank and file auto workers are completely ignored. You would never know they took place if you read only Reuther's version. Such prejudiced labor journalism we have up to now expected only from the Stalinists.

According to Reuther, secret meetings and telephone conversations between him and the manufacturers did the trick. Reuther begged the billionnaires to have a heart and see the light, and suddenly they were "convinced." Here is what the official UAW resolution, entitled "New UAW-CIO Policy on Economic Wage Demands," says:

"We urged these other companies (other than GM) to reopen their contracts and to make further economic concessions in order to bring them into line with the General Motors 19-cent pattern. Since we were concerned with getting results, not headlines, the Union continued to pursue these efforts to get further wage increases without the benefit of publicity or fanfare. In view of the fact that our contracts were closed, we were confronted with the problem of convincing management of the need to reopen closed contracts for the purpose of making these additional wage adjustments." The same policy is reported in the Ford negotiations.

Here Reuther admits to secret private dealings full of "We urged, we requested," etc. There is no doubt that it was during these secret talks that Reuther agreed to the five-year contract and the waiver clause at Fords. It is the policy of a poor relation begging. It is not the policy of a fighting union leader such as John L. Lewis. He is trying to tell us that the corporation executives were talked into changing their position from "No" to 10 and 15c. an hour!

The auto manufacturers give the same "explanation." In the August issue of Chrysler Motors, a statement on the pay increases says the following: "Sometime ago representatives of the UAW-CIO asked Chrysler Corporation to consider raising wages in view of changed conditions since the May 4 contract was signed. On August 24, 1950, Chrysler Corporation arranged with the union for further discussion on this subject and on August 25 the agreement just announced was reached." Where do the explanations differ?

Reuther does not dare say that while his administration sat on its hands and limited itself to begging, the membership pushed over the traces and won. His administration cannot even mention the walkouts, in which the auto workers simply turned their backs on the international officialdom and hit the bricks for cost-of-living increases. The membership felt that the international was an obstacle, due to its bankrupt "do nothing but talk" policy. Without these wildcat strikes, which the top UAW officials bitterly opposed, Reuther would still be saying in private, "Please, Mr. Boss," and the auto manufacturers would still be saying "No."

Even Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, was compelled to give the lie to Reuther when he admitted in a statement which received nation-wide attention, "The Ford Motor Company would not have negotiated if these stoppages had not taken place last week." The only thing Reuther can legitimately claim credit for is what the union surrendered. Much of what the workers won by their self-dependent actions, **Reuther gave away in negotiations.** He horsetraded away many union rights for the five-year sellout agreement at Ford. He even permitted the Ford Motor Company to chisel on the wage gains won at Chrysler by settling for an 8c. instead of a 10c. increase, and even this was not added to the base rate.

The big opposition vote in the Ford ratification shows clearly that the rank and file is giving credit where credit is due: for benefits and progress — to themselves; for losses and backward steps—to the Reuther administration.